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A LEAGUE TO PREVENT WAR

With a Review of the Fight Against
the Formation of the United States

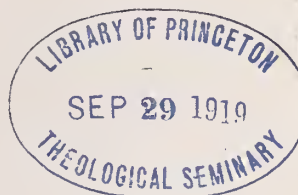
An Address by the

HON. W. G. McADOO

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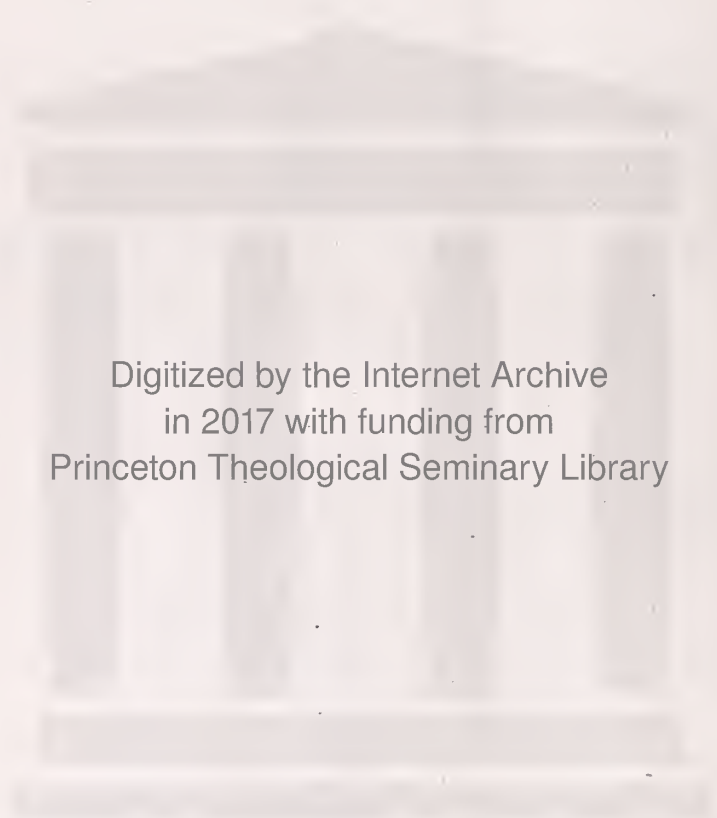
METHODIST CENTENARY
CELEBRATION

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A LEAGUE TO PREVENT WAR

By the
HON. W. G. McADOO

THE Christian Church represents the greatest spiritual and moral force in the world, and there never was a time when those forces were so imperatively needed as now. Co-operation between all denominations of the Christian Church is essential for the world's salvation. It will require the mobilized effort of the Church militant to secure the fruits of the great victory for liberty, democracy and world peace which has been won through the blood and valor of America's sons and the blood and valor of the sons of our Allies who fought with us in the titanic struggle just ended.

The Methodist Church has always been a militant influence for good. It has stood unswervingly for humanity, for progress, and for world peace. Although war is abhorrent to every Christian instinct and principle, the Church has stood for war only when it was convinced that the Christian objective—world peace—could be obtained by no other means.

We are now facing the most critical situation in which the world has ever found itself, the disposition of our victory. Shall we so dispose of it that human slaughter through war must still be the arbiter of the destiny of nations, or shall we so dispose of it that the glorious goal for which humanity has striven through thousands of years of unspeakable misery, torture and sacrifice shall now be realized—viz: The settlement of international disputes by judicial processes and the establishment of world peace through the cooperative effort of the great nations of the earth?

Organize Our Victory!

A League of Nations to prevent war would consolidate and organize our victory and make practically certain the peace of the

world in the future. A blessing so colossal seems unattainable, and yet it is within our grasp if we have the vision, the courage and the determination to take it. Here is where the Church faces its noblest opportunity, and its greatest responsibility.

We must not permit any man or set of men to destroy the League of Nations. We must not permit any man or set of men to emasculate it. We must not permit any man or set of men to put the peace of the world again in peril. The issue is so momentous that the very future of civilization is at stake and humanity from every stricken quarter of the suffering world cries out in agony to Christianity to save it. We are face to face with prodigious events when blind men must not be permitted to lead. It is a tragic fact in history that every great step in human progress has been won against the resistance of blind, fatuous and uncomprehending men whose advice and leadership, if followed, would have kept us in the dark ages.

We are celebrating to-day the 143rd anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The American Colonies planted the seed of freedom and equality in the soil of the Western Hemisphere and then began that irrepressible struggle between democracy and autocracy which culminated in democracy's triumph on the battlefields of France in November, 1918. The signing of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, coming so near the day we celebrate, gives it added significance and joyousness. Little did the men of 1776 realize that they had launched a war against autocracy which would require 142 years of struggle to win, and yet they did have the vision to see that the salvation of humanity depended upon freedom and equality of the individual, self-government through democratic institutions and denial of the divine right of kings. As the thirteen feeble American Colonies took the step in 1776 which secured their liberty and independence after six years of desperate war and subsequently consolidated their victory through a Federal Union which brought into existence the greatest Republic of all time, so now that Republic, by combining its strength with the great democracies of Europe, has destroyed the greatest autocratic governments on earth and has given to the people of Europe the opportunity of establishing self-government by so organizing their victory that the peace of the world may be secured. It rests with us and

with them to say whether this is a victory of peace or a victory of war.

Opposition to the Constitution

It is illuminating to recall at this time the events that led up to the formulation and adoption of our own Federal Constitution and to outline the character of the fight which was made against the organization of this great Republic, because they present, in many respects, a striking parallel to the character of fight which is now being made against the ratification of the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 secured the independence of the American Colonies. Up to that time the common danger had given them cohesion in the war. But no sooner had the victory been won than the jealousies and rivalries of the several States began to assert themselves. Then, as now, a more critical situation was presented than the war itself had engendered. How to make liberty and independence impregnable and to secure future peace was then, as now, the great problem. Cooperation between the various States not only ceased but commercial war between them began. Disputes about territory arose and actual hostilities occurred between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. War was narrowly averted. New York and New Hampshire had a similar territorial dispute which almost eventuated in war. Financial distress pervaded every State. There was no reliable medium of exchange and trade and commerce were hampered everywhere. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island actual rebellion broke out and civil war was threatened. Each State was striving for its own advantage, and selfish interest and bitter antagonism were rapidly producing a condition of anarchy which threatened to destroy all that had been gained by six years of war. The question arose as to whether there should be one nation or thirteen nations.

In this crisis, great patriots like Washington, Madison, and Franklin succeeded in bringing about a Convention in Philadelphia to consider the formation of a Federal Union. The Convention met in May, 1787, in historic Independence Hall, and after four months of earnest and oftentimes acrimonious debate, produced the present Constitution of the United States, but it was not to become effective unless ratified by nine of the States. A

bitter contest over ratification then ensued. The opponents of the Constitution passionately denounced the present charter of our liberties, under which the greatest Republic of all the ages has grown up, as a "triple-headed monster" and they declared it to be "as deep and wicked a conspiracy as ever was invented in the darkest ages against the liberties of a free people."

Violent Denunciation

This is precisely the kind of denunciation of the League of Nations in which men, who must be the lineal descendants of the short-sighted men who fought the Constitution of the United States, have been engaging. So violent was the fight on the Constitution that it was publicly burned in Albany, New York, and in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Not content with this, some of the leading advocates were publicly burned in effigy. In some States riots occurred, with loss of life. The opponents of the Constitution, in their blindness and passion, denounced the venerable Benjamin Franklin as a "dotard" and George Washington as a "fool." How similar to the present intemperate assaults upon the second great charter of human liberty, the League of Nations, which has been made possible by the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship of men like those who formulated our own Federal Constitution and gave being to this great Republic!

With extreme difficulty the requisite number of States were induced to ratify the Constitution. To show how close the contest was: in Massachusetts the vote was 187 in favor and 168 against, a majority of only 19; in Virginia it was 89 in favor and 79 against, a majority of only 10; in New Hampshire it was 57 in favor and 46 against, a majority of only 11; in New York it was 30 in favor and 27 against, a majority of only 3. The contest in New York determined the fate of the thirteen Colonies, and yet for a long time it was not believed that her approval of the Union could be secured. Governor George Clinton, an irreconcilable opponent, went into the Convention at Poughkeepsie with two-thirds of the delegates standing solidly behind him against ratification. But Alexander Hamilton, with only one-third of the delegation behind him, conducted for forty days a running debate where the brilliancy of his defense of the Consti-

tution and the sheer force of his intellectual power overcame the opposition, and New York was won over to the cause of liberty and national unity. This assured the organization of the United States of America, but it was by a frightfully narrow margin. Suppose that the unprogressive and uncomprehending opponents of the Federal Union had been successful, what would have been the fate of America? One cannot picture it. But God ruled and the Federal Union was won. It brought peace to the distracted thirteen States. It removed all causes of dispute. It brought a free intercourse between them and established a cooperation which made them potential not only for their own protection against external aggression, but enabled them to conquer a vast continent and give to it the blessings of liberty under law and self-government from one end of its broad domain to the other.

In 1788 the Constitution of the United States became operative and George Washington was made the first President in April, 1789. At that time autocratic government was in the saddle throughout the world. The Federal Constitution was the "most gigantic step in constructive statesmanship" that had ever been taken in all history. It marked the beginning not only of a new era, but of a new ideal that was to possess the world. Oppressed men of all nations turned eager eyes to the feeble light of liberty which had been lit in the New World and which gradually grew into the consuming flame which has finally reduced autocracy to ashes.

The Next Step to Liberty

As the Constitution was the great progressive step in liberty and peace for the American Colonies, so the League of Nations is now the great progressive step for the maintenance of liberty and democracy and the preservation of peace between the nations of the world. It is the "most gigantic step in constructive statesmanship" since the birth of the Federal Union, and yet it is resisted by the same type of uncomprehending men who fought the adoption of the Federal Constitution. They have the same obliquity of vision, the same selfishness of view, the same indifference to humanity and the same lack of interest in the masses of mankind. They oppose an effective organization to prevent war. They prefer to preserve our imaginary isolation. They regard war as an ineradicable feature of civilized society, and

look upon its recurrence with the same indifference that characterized the opponents of the Constitution of the United States. They denounce the League of Nations, as the opponents of the Federal Constitution denounced it, as a dastardly attempt against the liberties of free peoples.

The great men who are responsible for the Federal Constitution have emblazoned their names in imperishable letters upon the scroll of fame. All men know them. Who can obscure the fame of Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton and Jefferson? They had the vision, the foresight, and the patriotism to bring into existence this great Republic which has not only prospered the American people and protected their liberty, but has had a profound influence upon the destinies of the world. What of their opponents? Who knows them or has ever heard of them? With few exceptions, they have sunk into obscurity and are neither known nor heard of unless by some student of history who takes the pains to investigate the past and to search out, as a warning to himself and to others, the narrow views and opinions of those whose chief mark of identification is that they were the implacable foes of the Constitution of the United States.

The League Covenant

Incorporated in the treaty are the provisions for the League of Nations. What is this League and what is it to do? Fundamentally, it is a cooperative agreement between thirty-two nations to prevent war by forcing all the nations concerned to submit international disputes either to arbitration or to conference and discussion before resorting to war. The machinery by which this is accomplished I shall outline briefly.

First, an Assembly or Congress of the nations is provided for in which each nation has three representatives and in which each nation has one vote. Second, a Council of nine members is constituted, of which five of the great powers, namely, the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, are permanent members. The other four members of the Council will be selected by the Assembly. The Council is an executive body merely and will have the general direction and supervision of the affairs of the League. The League is not a super-sovereignty. It is not even an international legislature. It is an international

conference. In the meetings of the Assembly, as well as of the Council, unanimous vote is required for effective action, except in such minor matters as procedure at meeting and appointment of Committees.

Objection has been raised by opponents of the League that small nations are given the same voting power as large nations. What difference does this make, so long as unanimous vote is essential to action? The one vote of the United States is, therefore, just as potential as the votes of all the other nations combined, since no action can be taken without its concurrence.

The first meeting of the Assembly and of the Council will be called by the President of the United States. Our country is given the distinction of initiating the proceedings under this new charter of liberty, democracy and humanity, just as our forefathers initiated the proceedings for the formulation of the Federal Constitution and the organization of the great democracy under which we live.

A permanent Secretariat, which is the administrative arm of the League, is established and all positions under or in connection with the League are available to men and women alike.

Fundamental Purpose

The fundamental purpose of the League is the prevention of war. If it should accomplish nothing else than this, it would confer upon humanity the most inestimable boon with which it has been blessed since civilization began. How is the prevention of war to be accomplished? First of all, it was necessary to destroy autocratic government everywhere before any foundation for a League of Nations could be laid. Every effort of the nations in times past to organize for the prevention of war has failed because autocratic and despotic governments were not only unwilling to enter into effective guarantees for the preservation of peace, but they refused to be bound by agreements of this character. They held that it was incompatible with the divinity of the right they exercised to surrender any portion of their power and that they could violate such arrangements at will. Although civilized society has been organized on the basis of law and order within nations themselves, there has

never been any law between nations which made war itself a crime and fixed personal responsibility upon those guilty of provoking it. Consequently despots and autocrats have, throughout history, precipitated needless wars upon the theory that "the king could do no wrong" and untold millions of human beings have been sacrificed for this fictitious doctrine. We all know now that kings cannot only do wrong, but that they have frequently committed the most colossal wrongs upon mankind. We also know that if the fiction that "the king can do no wrong" had been destroyed centuries ago, millions of human lives would have been saved and untold human suffering would have been avoided, because so long as kings have thought that they could make war with impunity and that the people alone would suffer, they have not hesitated to do so.

Eliminate Causes of War

The League of Nations seeks to prevent the recurrence of war by eliminating as far as possible the causes which lead to war through

- (1) the limitation of armaments,
- (2) guaranties of territorial integrity and political independence,
- (3) the abolition of secret treaties,
- (4) compulsory conferences to discuss questions of common interest that may from time to time arise and thereby to bring about cooperation among the nations concerned.

One of the most serious causes of wars in the past has been the creation of vast armaments and great standing armies which have been a constant temptation to aggression by that nation which was possessed of a preponderant force. So long as the policy of any one power was to build up great military and naval establishments, other powers had to enter into competition as a matter of self-defense. The result was that the leading nations of Europe have been for generations past great armed camps ready to spring at each other's throats and precipitate wars upon slight provocation or for causes which no impartial tribunal would, upon investigation, consider adequate.

1. LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS:

One of the most important purposes of the League is therefore the reduction of armaments upon an established scale which will put all the members of the League upon an equality as near as may be in the matter of organized force. Plans for such reductions are to be prepared by the Council and submitted to the several governments concerned, but no plans are to become binding on any nation until adopted by it. Congress is not deprived of any of its prerogatives in this matter, but, on the contrary, retains the sole power to determine what armed forces, military and naval, shall be maintained by the United States. If, however, our Congress should adopt the recommendation of the League for reduction of armaments, then no increase in such armaments may be made without the consent of the League for a period of ten years, at the end of which time the plan will be subject to reconsideration and revision.

In order to enforce this provision, the Council is to advise as to how the evil effects of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition can be prevented, with a view to the adoption by governments of the policy of manufacturing for themselves instead of through private interests such war materials as are required for their safety. All members of the League are to interchange full and frank advices as to their military and naval programs in order that each member of the League may know what the other is doing in respect to armaments. This is the first step toward the prevention of war—the limitation of armaments—so that no nation will have a preponderant armed force and be tempted to use it to attack another in the execution of some selfish aim or purpose. The United States is not disadvantaged, but advantaged by this provision, because it is in line with our historic policy of limited armament and puts all other nations on an equality of armed strength with us.

2. GUARANTIES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Throughout all history, one of the greatest incentives to war has been the lust of ambitious rulers to extend their power and dominion over other peoples and to absorb the territory of other nations. After every great war the map of Europe has been

changed and peoples have been transferred from one sovereignty to another without regard to their feelings or interests. The results of the present war are not different from those of all other great wars, so far as changing the map of Europe is concerned, although the motives for such change are this time quite different from those which have heretofore controlled. We are now trying to restore to the different peoples of the world the territories which of right belong to them and to set them up once more as politically independent sovereignties with the added right of self-government. The magnitude of this task is exceeded only by its difficulties. There are so many races in Europe and the intermingling of populations along their borders has been so continuous that there are many areas which cannot with accuracy be ethnologically defined. There are, so to speak, twilight zones of populations which are neither predominantly one nationality or another, and, therefore, the new nations which are to be established under the peace treaty are in some instances given boundaries which must be tested for a reasonable length of time under conditions of stabilized government before the wisdom of such boundaries can be demonstrated. Moreover, some of these nations will be stronger, of necessity, than others. Their peoples are unaccustomed to self-government and must create a political organization and a status themselves. This is notably true of restored Poland and Czecho-Slovakia which will need, for some time, guarantees against external aggression which will enable their people to work out their destiny without fear of aggression from their neighbors and under favoring conditions of peace. No less important are these guarantees against external aggression and of political independence to the larger state of Europe than to the smaller. Once it is firmly and clearly established that no nation may commit aggressions upon its neighbors, all may settle down to peaceful pursuits and build up again the prosperity and happiness of their peoples under stable and well ordered government.

Article X of the covenant, therefore, wisely provides that each member of the League shall respect and preserve as against *external* aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. It must be borne in mind that this covenant does not permit the League of Nations to interfere in any uprisings or disturbances within a state itself.

The right of revolution against oppressive internal authority remains unaffected and unimpaired, and every people is left to determine for itself what its form of government shall be and how its internal or domestic affairs shall be conducted.

Mr. Root suggested an amendment to this article providing that after the expiration of five years from the signing of the convention any nation might terminate its obligation under Article X by giving one year's notice in writing to the Secretary General of the League. Since Mr. Root's suggestion a provision has been incorporated in the revised draft of the covenant which is even more favorable to the termination of the obligation than Mr. Root proposed. Any member of the League may, under the revised draft, withdraw from the League after two years' notice of its intention to do so, provided that all its international obligations under the League covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. The effect of the revised covenant, therefore, is to enable any nation to terminate its obligation to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of the other members of the League after two years' notice of its intention so to do, instead of being bound for five years, as Mr. Root suggested.

A Far-Fetched Argument

The argument that this guarantee will involve us in every European quarrel is far-fetched for the following reasons:

(1) We cannot be drawn into any war unless our Congress first authorizes it.

(2) After all European armaments are reduced practically to an internal police force basis, any war or attempted war will be a small affair because of the limited armed forces available.

(3) The control by governments of the manufacture of war munitions and the destruction of great war plants like the Krupps will prevent would-be belligerents from getting the necessary supplies of arms and ammunition.

(4) In case of conflict in Europe the nearby powers would be called on first to provide the necessary forces, as in case of conflict on the American continent, the United States would be asked to take the matter in hand. But, and I repeat it, in no

case is the United States bound to go to war or supply an armed force without the authorization of the Congress.

Mr. Root has recently surprised his friends and admirers by urging that Article X be stricken from the League Covenant. He has given no explanation for his sudden change of position. He is unable, however, to refute the convincing argument he first made in favor of guaranties of the territorial integrity and the political independence of all members of the League of Nations.

Article X Heart of Covenant

To eliminate this guaranty is to extract the red corpuscles from the blood of the League and render it a weak and anemic institution incapable of fulfilling the purposes of its creation. Unless the people of each nation can be secured against external aggression, territorial disputes will continue to arise and jeopardize the peace of the world. I think the fears that this guarantee will involve America in every future European conflict that may arise and that we are committed to an indefinite engagement to send our sons to fight in unknown and unanticipated European wars are unfounded. We can always terminate the engagement by withdrawing from the League upon two years' previous notice. Article X will put an end to the menace of war from territorial disputes, but if eliminated from the League, so that these controversies remain a fruitful cause of war, then we shall be involved again in European conflicts, because it is impossible to separate America from the rest of the world and leave her in the imaginary isolation which opponents of the League beguile themselves into believing is a sufficient security for our future peace. In fact, the guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence against *external* aggression only, as Article X provides, will not only prevent war by deterring the signatory powers from attempting it in violation of this Article, but in case of such disputes the League itself supplies the machinery for peaceful settlement, either by arbitration or by inquiry on the part of the Council.

Germany has not accepted the Treaty of Peace voluntarily. Naturally she will comply with its covenants reluctantly. The other Central Powers will doubtless sign in the same mood. This makes it essential that the strength of the Allied Governments

remain organized and that their cooperation be continued if Germany and her late allies are to be made to fulfil the obligations of the Treaty. How can the power of the Allies be more effectively consolidated and applied for these purposes than through the League of Nations? Separate the League of Nations from the Treaty and it would be utterly impossible to enforce the Treaty not only upon Germany, but upon all the other powers concerned.

Treaty Must Be Enforced

Never in all history has it been so necessary that an effective instrumentality for the interpretation of a Treaty and for the enforcement of its terms be provided as in the present instance, because never in the history of the world has peace been re-established after a great war upon such a revolutionary basis. Not only has the form of old governments been changed, but new ones have been established, creating intricate problems which cannot be finally disposed of in the terms of peace. Imagine what would happen if there was no League of Nations. Germany would proceed to re-arm herself as promptly as possible in order to renew the struggle and to regain what she has lost. France and England and Italy would also have to begin preparing themselves for the next war by building up their war power to the very limit of their strength. The United States would have to do the same thing. The backs of the people of all nations would bend with the burdens of new taxation for war purposes; they would be ground in poverty and misery to supply out of their labor and production the means by which these wasteful preparations for war would be continued.

3. SECRET TREATIES

Another fruitful cause of war between nations has been secret treaties under which nations attempted to get advantage of their rivals and under which intrigues and private understandings of all kinds have worked for distrust, suspicion and enmity. Article XVIII of the revised covenant provides that "every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No

such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

Certainly no nation imbued with good faith toward its neighbors and genuinely interested in preserving the peace of the world can object to this article of the covenant. When treaties are published just as are the laws of the United States and of the several States of the Union, so that all may read and understand, the selfish aims and private advantages which have heretofore accrued to nations and to individuals through these pernicious secret treaties will become abortive.

4. COMPULSORY CONFERENCES OF THE NATIONS

If any one thing has been demonstrated by the great war, it is that conference and counsel between the great nations is one of the most certain means of preventing international misunderstandings and of making war impossible. Heretofore such conference could not be held except by the voluntary action of all the parties. In 1914, before Germany precipitated war, an urgent effort was made by Sir Edward Gray to bring about a conference of the powers to consider the dispute between Austria and Serbia. Germany refused to enter that conference. She had determined to bring on the war in the execution of long-considered plans, and she knew that if she joined a conference of the powers where full and frank discussion of the issues involved would be necessary, war would be averted and her ambitions would be thwarted.

One of the most powerful arguments for the League of Nations is the requirement that the Assembly, which consists of the representatives of all the members of the League and the Council, shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League or at such other place or places as may be decided upon. This provision is mandatory. It provides that the Assembly *shall* meet at stated intervals, and that the Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year.

Suppose that this League had been in existence in 1914, and that upon a threat of war a meeting of the Assembly or of the Council had been called. Germany would have been obliged to attend. A discussion of the dispute would immediately have fol-

lowed, and there is no doubt that the terrible war would have been prevented; that 7,000,000 dead men would be alive to-day and 20,000,000 wounded men would have been spared; that the horrors and indescribable sufferings of the civil populations of all the nations concerned would not have occurred; and that \$200,000,000,000 of treasure would not have been wasted.

It is a well-known fact, and Germany has admitted it, that Germany expected Great Britain to keep out of the war and that if she had known that Great Britain would make common cause with France, Belgium and Russia, she would never have begun the disastrous conflict. If even a conference of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France and Russia had been held in 1914, Great Britain would have made this clear to Germany and war would have been averted. If the proposed League of Nations accomplishes nothing more than to make certain a conference of the members of the League and of the Council at stated intervals for the purpose of discussion and conference, it will have a potential influence upon the peace of the world; it will promote international cooperation instead of international antagonism and suspicions which have been the characteristic evil of the old system of secret treaties and artificial balances of power so long maintained in Europe.

If, however, after limitations of armaments have been secured and guarantees of territorial integrity and political independence have been given and secret treaties have been eliminated and conferences of the powers have been provided for, disputes between nations should arise and take on such an acute form as to threaten war, then the League covenant makes other provisions which almost certainly will result in maintaining the peace of the world. What are the provisions?

Arbitration

They are, first, for arbitration of the dispute, if it is of a character which the contending nations recognize as suitable for submission to arbitration. Mr. Root's admirable definition of disputes suitable for arbitration has been inserted in the covenant; namely, "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any interna-

tional obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach. So there can be no question as to what is arbitrable. And, second, if the matter should not be suitable for arbitration, then it shall be considered by the Council which shall make such recommendations for a settlement as it thinks just and proper, which recommendations must be made within six months after the submission of the controversy. In case either of arbitration or of inquiry by the Council, the parties affected agree that they will not go to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Council.

Without going into further details about these admirable provisions of the covenant, it is sufficient to say that they postpone war until there can be a complete discussion of the dispute either through the medium of arbitration or through the processes of inquiry and that after award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Council which makes the inquiry, neither party shall go to war until three months thereafter. During that time opportunity for mediation and conciliation is offered, and in any event it is provided that the parties affected will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the unanimous recommendations of the Council or accepts the award of the arbitration.

Economic Weapons

Suppose any nation refuses to accept the award of the arbitration or the unanimous recommendation of the Council which makes the inquiry and proceeds to make war against the other party to the dispute which has accepted the award or the recommendation of the Council, or suppose any nation goes to war, as Germany did in 1914 without notice to anybody, what then happens? The offending nation will be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League and, thereupon, the other members of the League will (1) sever all trade or financial relations between the members of the League and the offending nation; (2) prohibit all intercourse between the citizens of the members of the League and citizens of the offending state; and (3) prevent all financial, commercial and personal intercourse between the citizens of the offending nation and the citizens of any other state or nation throughout the world,

whether a member of the League or not. That is what is called an economic boycott. It is a terrible weapon which no sane representatives of any nation would defy with impunity.

Let us suppose again that Germany had been faced in July, 1914, with this terrible economic boycott by Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, and the United States. Is it conceivable that she would have entered upon the mad career of war with certain defeat staring her in the face at the very outset? No nation is strong enough to resist the combined economic pressure of the greatest powers of the world and the moral influence and reprehension of the public opinion of the world. But economic pressure is not the only consequence which a recalcitrant nation would incur because if war should actually result the League Covenant provides that the Council shall recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to be used against the offending member.

Congress Retains War Power

I wish to repeat, however, that the United States, as a member of the League, could not be forced into war by the recommendation of the council or by any action of the League, without its consent. The Congress of the United States would have to say whether or not such recommendation should be adopted. The entire subject would have to be submitted to the Congress by the President for appropriate action in accordance with the Constitution of the United States which vests in the Congress the sole power to declare war.

But if arbitration and inquiry fail, if mediation and conciliation prove impotent, if nine months of discussion and conferences do not cool the hot passion for war, if every agency and influence of the League are exhausted in vain, then our opponents say that war will happen, and that the League covenant therefore recognizes and sanctions war. It is possible of course that war might happen in these circumstances but it is scarcely conceivable. If it should happen, how could it be said that the League covenant sanctions war because it undertakes to prevent it any more than it can be said that the state sanctions murder because it enacts laws to prevent that crime. In either case the

evil is recognized to exist and because every effort is made to destroy it, by no exercise of the imagination can the attempt be distorted into a sanction of the offense if, after all is done, murder is committed or war occurs.

Monroe Doctrine Safe

We do not abandon the Monroe Doctrine by entering the League of Nations. That policy is expressly reserved from the operations of the covenant. We cannot be made a mandatary of any foreign colony or territory except with our consent, and no amendments to the League after its adoption will be binding upon the United States unless accepted by it.

In case of attack upon the United States we can immediately repel the attack and defend ourselves. Nothing in the League covenant deprives us of that right notwithstanding the false claim of our opponents to the contrary. The League has nothing to do with immigration, naturalization or any of our internal or domestic affairs. We shall control these matters just as fully with membership in the League as without it.

I shall merely enumerate the admirable provisions of the League of Peace for progressing the solution of great moral and social problems which have long demanded the concerted attention of the civilized nations of the world:

- (1) The endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men and women;
- (2) The general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (3) The endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease; and
- (4) The undertaking to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants under their control.

The Heart of Humanity

These great problems appeal to the heart and conscience of humanity everywhere. God grant that their solution may not be prevented by the failure of the Senate of the United States to

ratify the League of Nations Covenant. Certainly the Church, that great moral and spiritual organization, is vitally concerned in holding the ground thus gained in the League of Nations.

Most of the objections to the League of Nations are based upon misconceptions or misinterpretations of its provisions, or upon exaggerated and unfounded fears as to its operations. Of course, the instrument does not suit every mind. It is of necessity a compromise of many conflicting views, just as was the Constitution of the United States. I am reminded of what the aged and venerable Benjamin Franklin said when the Constitution was signed at Philadelphia in 1788: "Whatever opinions I have of its errors I will sacrifice to the public good, and I hope that every member of the Convention who still has objections will on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility and for the sake of unanimity put his name to this instrument." Opponents of the League of Nations should adopt the advice of this great American patriot and statesman by sacrificing some of their opinions to the public good, and at least they should doubt a little of their own infallibility when they denounce in passionate terms the League of Nations Covenant.

Opposition Due to Partisanship

I am loath to believe that the discussion of this greatest piece of constructive statesmanship, this League of Nations which concerns the very weal and woe of humanity, can be debased by partisan politics. And yet there are manifestations of partisanship in the discussions, disturbing to every man and woman who loves America and puts country above partisan considerations. We must not let partisanship nor passion sway us in this momentous hour. Never were wisdom and deliberation on the part of the people and their representatives more needed than now. One cannot be passionate and wise at the same time, even though he be a politician or a statesman. Wisdom is the product of cool deliberation and judgment. Mistakes are the product of passion and wars are the offspring of the baser instincts of human nature. A combination of passion and partisan politics will produce inevitable mistakes. God grant that all those upon whom the responsibility rests for deciding the future of the world in this twentieth century may be endowed with the patri-

otism, the wisdom and the unselfishness of those great Americans of the 18th century, who, by their dispassionate judgment, their vision, their self-sacrifice, their devotion to human liberty and to country, formulated the Constitution of the United States and brought into existence this great American Republic.

Peril of Amendments

No amendments of the League of Nations, no vital reservations in the ratification of the League by the Senate of the United States can be effected without imminent peril to the future of the world and without prolonging the state of war. We cannot risk the undoing of all that has been accomplished by forcing another Peace Conference at Paris. Amendment of the Treaty is rejection of the Treaty. Rejection of the Treaty means a new Peace Conference and the indefinite postponement of peace. Let us not misunderstand that. Let us ratify the League of Nations as it is, representing as it does the combined wisdom of all the great men who formulated it, and then let it evolve as our Constitution has evolved, into a more perfect instrument as human wisdom and experience demonstrate that amendments may be necessary. This is the course we took with our own Constitution. We ratified it first and amended it afterwards. Let us ratify the League of Nations Covenant first and amend it afterward if necessary. That is the safe plan. The League of Nations covenant, like our own Constitution, provides the means for its amendment. By this course we shall consolidate and organize the triumph of democracy and liberty and extract from it those superlative blessings for which the human race has striven throughout the centuries.

"Let us have peace."

Let us have a League of Nations to give the world peace!

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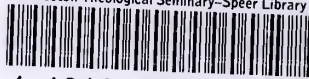
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